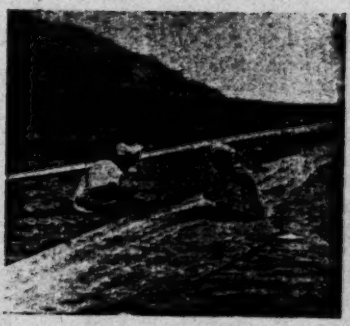
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

NAVIGATION AND FISHING 1

Fishing boat of the Masuna



Repairing a seine, Tiguisas, Ghomara

501
226

Hauling a net ashore, Tiguisas

Fishing seine showing Ghomaran boat type

[facing p. 34]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

501 466 The crew must obey the master in the working of the boat, as their job includes all operations, including loading and unloading. They can transfer at will (to another boat) whenever they like, in which case they are reimbursed with the gross value of their part of the profits, and in justifiable absences, such as short illnesses, the death of some relative, etc., there is no discount from their wages, if they are co-participants in the business; but this requires justification in front of the master and the consent of the rest of the crew, as well as previous warning.....

226 501 In fishing boats, they are accountable for the maintenance; in boats of transport, they have charge of the profits.

226 434 C) Profits:

1) Fishing in a boat with net: the gross value of the sale is divided into two equal parts, one for the master and one for the crew. In addition to this, the master also receives one-seventh of the owner's share.

2) Fishing in a boat with hook: the gross value of the catch is divided into three equal parts; one for the owner of the appartus (net, lines, hooks....), another (not listed, probably a typographical error) and the last for the crew. Those who haul the nets on shore receive a few kilos of fish.

3) Fishing with explosives: three equal parts, two for the owner of the explosives and the third for the swimmer.

505 434 4) Transport of Travelers and Merchandise: the profits of the trip, after maintenance expenses and port duties have been discounted, i.e. the true profit, are analogously divided into two parts, in the same proportion as in the case of fishing boats.

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjin (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qamun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

501 (505) (226) This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

283 277 178 501 They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

ooo This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

423 A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its

423 574 271 presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

000 here. We have never seen or heard of them.

[463] [396] 114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

● 501 463 226 116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common for three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

[434]

226 The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

000 117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.